DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 187 114 FL 011 264

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TITLE Is the French Language Losing Its Struggle for Maintenance: An Investigation of Language Usage in Two Bilingual Communities in Maine.
PUB DATE 79
NOTE 101p.; M.A. Thesis, University of Hawaii

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Bilingualism; Cultural Influences; English; Ethnic Groups; *French; *Language Attitudes; *Language Dominance; *Language Maintenance; Language Proficiency; Language Research; *Language Role; Language Usage; Sociolinguistics
IDENTIFIERS *Franco Americans; Maine

ABSTRACT

Over the last four generations, the language patterns in Maine's bilingual Franco-American communities have undergone a shift characterized by a widespread adoption of English and a decline of the ethnic language. The younger generations generally are unable or unwilling to use the French language and they express negative attitudes towards that language. The status of the French language in two communities in Maine, Van Buren and Lewiston, was studied in a three part investigation concerned with language dominance, the domains of language behavior, and the patterns of alternation between English and French. Twenty families, ten in each community, comprising 3 or 4 generations, were interviewed. In addition to the statistically measurable aspects of dominance, domain and alternation, the attitudes of the informants toward French and English were also studied. It is concluded that the effort to assimilate the Franco-Americans into the mainstream of American life is leading to the apparently irreversible loss of the French language as a medium of communication. (Author/AMH)

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IS THE FRENCH LANGUAGE LOSING ITS STRUGGLE FOR MAINTENANCE: AN INVESTIGATION OF LANGUAGE USAGE IN TWO BILINGUAL COMMUNITIES IN MAINE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

MAY 1979

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ABSTRACT

Over the last four generations, the language patterns in Maine's bilingual Franco-American communities have undergone a tremendous shift, characterized by a widespread adoption of English, and a decline of the ethnic language. The younger generations generally are unable or unwilling to use the French language and express negative attitudes towards the mother tongue. The status of the French language in Maine was studied in a three part investigation of language dominance, the domains of language behavior, and the patterns of alternation between English and French. It is concluded that the effort to assimilate the Franco-Americans into the mainstream of American life is leading to the apparently irreversible loss of the French language as a medium of communication.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Identification of Problem

When immigrant groups from all over the world began settling in the United States, each bound by a common language, they worked toward maintaining their mother tongues. Johansen (1971) reported that in Bosque County, Texas, the Norwegian language survived as a means of communication as long as the settlements were large enough to permit ethnic schools and churches. In other areas, Norwegian survived only until a facility in English was obtain. There was, then, a basic counter-maintenance factor: American civilization. Glazer (1966) identifies education as the main aspect of American civilization influencing loss of ethnic language:

> Probably mass, free education played the largest role--it taught almost all the children English, and it insidiously undermined the native language by implying (if not advocating) the superiority of English to any language their parents spoke (p. 366).

Fishman (1973) calls attention to the social process which produced language assimilation:

> The predominant pattern of non-English maintenance during the first two centuries of American life has been (a) rapid and widespread adoption of English as a second language by the immigrant first generation, and (b) widespread transmission of this second language to the young as their mother tongue. The major social process that has produced this outcome is interaction-based social mobility (p. 221).

Fishman also reminds us that though this is the general pattern when two or more cultures come into contact for an extended period of time, it is not inevitable that immigrant groups ultimately adopt the language of the host country. Anglo-Canadians who came to Quebec, for example, did not transmit the French language to their children, nor did they even learn it as a second language.

Citing several other examples of this non-assimilation pattern, Fishman adds that there are cases where hosts have adopted the language of major immigrant groups. The United States, however, certainly does not deviate from the predominant pattern. All immigrant groups to the United States sooner or later adopted some form of English. Fishman, however, predicts that non-Anglo ethnic maintenance will continue and will foster various degrees of non-English language maintenance as well.

This author can accept Fishman's prediction of non-Anglo ethnic maintenance, insofar as it refers to the life styles, customs, and beliefs of immigrant groups. Assimilation into the American way of life does not make as stringent demands to discard "ethnicity" as it does to adopt the English language. It is this author's contention that these demands, whether made apparent or inherent, have had a strong negative effect on the maintenance of ethnic language.

Lemaire (1966), reporting on the Franco-American efforts in language maintenance, asserts that this particular

ethnic group while they for so long struggled to preserve the French language also recognized the necessity of knowing English. Lemaire claims that French, compared to other immigrant languages in the United States, persisted with tremendous tenacity. The struggle for ethnic survival was weakened when:

1) second and third generation Franco-Americans, more absorbed in the American way of life, no longer wished to be identified as immigrants;
2) Franco-Americans began to understand that success meant having practical knowledge of English;

and especially when:

3) American prestige was increased with the United States involvement in and the outcome of World War II. Franco-Americans cared less to be identified with a particular ethnic group and more as 100% Americans.

Though the Franco-Americans were once considered unassimilable, today they have become acculturated to a noticeable degree. Today most Franco-American children enter school unable to understand French, let alone speak it. Still, Lemaire ends his article on an optimistic note, claiming that because of a growing awareness that non-English skills are essential to maintain optimal ties with the rest of the world,

> French will continue to be spoken in New England; and though it will not be used as widely as before, it will be of more generally acceptable quality. . . . While true bilinguals are a rarity in the United States, many Franco-Americans are bilingual and many more will have the opportunity of being so (p. 278).

As a product of the Franco-American assimilatory process, I cannot share Lemaire's apparent optimism. I believe my generation is the last of the bilingual strain of Francos, and that despite the efforts of local cultural organizations and of federally-funded bilingual education programs, the French language in many parts of Maine will eventually approximate extinction.

The present study was designed to investigate this language shift in a multi-generational sample of Franco-American families, from their historic origins to their present linguistic status. The study is based on Mackey's (1968) definition of bilingualism, which includes the concepts of language dominance, domains of language behavior (i.e., when and where each language is used), and alternation (switching) between two or more languages. Because of the profound influence of English on bilingual Franco-Americans in Maine, it is the author's opinion that the French language has suffered irreversible loss in the form of dominance reversal, decrease in the number of domains requiring French, and in the attitudes of younger generations regarding their mother tongue.

Dugas (1974) shares my perception of the fate of the

French language in Maine. In a paper on the language maintenance efforts of the Franco-Americans, Dugas concluded that most signs indicate that we are a potentially strong ethnic group which, in reality, is in danger of dying due to the loss of its Franco schools and churches. Fiset (1971), in a published interview, agrees:

> As for the future of the French language, I am not very optimistic. All means of communication here are in English: television, newspapers, even instruction in the schools. We try to maintain the French language but sooner or later it will leave us (p. 46).

Giguere (1978), in an address to the Francophones of America Convention, stated that though some Franco-American families still possess some proficiency in French, it is usually a question of generation. The English influence has imposed itself everywhere, in the schools and in the families where the younger generation either can't speak French or prefers not to do so. Even bilingual adults find themselves using English more and more whenever any type of specialized vocabulary is required.

The decline of the French language is, naturally, most noticeable in the younger generation, those with whom the fate of the mother tongue rests. Most often when there is an ability to speak both languages, only need to speak to older generation Franco-Americans dictates that the French language be chosen over English. If there is no need to speak French, as Giguere pointed out, the preference is usually not to do so.

B. Justification

A resurgence of interest in bilingualism over the last 20 to 30 years has invited psycho- and sociolinguistic research in all aspects of the phenomenon. Some studies have reported specifically on certain aspects of the Franco-Americans' bilingual development (Dugas, 1974; Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Lemaire, 1966; Lambert, Giles and Picard, 1975). Others have concentrated on defining and describing dominance or measuring the language dominance of particular bilingual groups (Mackey, 1966 and 1968; Macnamara, 1969; Zirkel, 1974; Kelly, 1969; Lambert, 1970). And other studies have been devoted to identifying language domains as an aspect of bilingual speech patterns (Fishman, 1971 and 1972; Barker, 1972; Rubin, 1968). A few have analyzed the kinds of speech habits that have been defined by a variety of terms: alternation, code-switching, mixing, interference, transference, integration, and borrowing (Clyne, 1972; Gumperz, 1967 and 1977; Hasselmo, 1970; Redlinger, 1976; Mackey, 1965; Sawyer, 1970; Rayfield, 1970).

I have come across few studies, however, that have dealt with any combination of these areas, and certainly none which have consolidated all the areas into one comprehensive study of language usage of Franco-Americans in Maine.

In a discussion of language maintenance and language shift, Fishman (1972) points out that, for the social

realities of multilingual settings to be accurately reflected, a variety of measures is needed. Claims about the status of language maintenance or shift can be made on the basis of a number of factors: proficiency, frequency of use, relative ease. But Fishman warns that conclusions based on these measures may be questionable. In bilingual settings where speakers use both languages equally, language choice may depend on an unmeasured factor, that of domains. A more integrative study of the Franco-American situation using a combination of interrelated measures appears to be needed. The present study's total approach to an investigation of language shift over several generations should provide valuable and interesting information on a little studied area of sociolinguistic change in America.

C. Review of Relevant Research

1) Franco-American Bilingualism

As might be expected, Hawaii is not the best clearinghouse for studies of Franco-Americanism. The only sources of data available were studies by Gardner and Lambert (1972), and by Lambert, Giles and Picard (1975).

In a tri-state study of high school students in Maine, Louisiana and Connecticut, Gardner and Lambert used over 50 separate tests to help answer some of the questions about individual differences in success in foreign-language learning. Maine was chosen as one of the regions of study, to be contrasted

with Louisiana. The impression was that Maine, unlike Louisiana, had an active minority subculture, and that the French influence in Maine was more vital and contemporary.

The result of the multi-index study identified two independent sources of influence on second-language achievement: intelligence-aptitude and an attitudinal-motivational source. In Maine, the motivation to learn French appeared to be fostered by the student's identification with his teacher, and depended partly on the student's sensitivity to others' feelings. Gardner and Lambert also noted that in Maine the number of French friends the student has also partly determines his/her understanding of complex French passages; in addition, the Maine students who are instrumentally oriented in their study of French and whose families have a number of French-speaking friends are likely to develop above-average expressive skills.

In a follow-up study in the same Maine and Louisiana communities, Gardner and Lambert (1972) found that the Franco-American's attitudes towards his own ethno-linguistic group and the surrounding American way of life can influence his language development of both French and English, resulting in either a dominance of one language over the other, or in some cases full bilingual competence.

Questions were left unanswered for Gardner and Lambert, however:

> Even though both groups by definition come from homes where French is a major language

> of communication, we have no idea as yet how well the language is maintained from infancy on either in the home or in the subculture. One wonders too if there really is a French-speaking subculture in the Louisiana and Maine communities under study (p. 79).

But in summary Gardner and Lambert indicated that the Maine group has had more opportunity to learn and use French in the home than the Louisiana group has had, and that Maine parents are better skilled in French and give more encouragement to their children to learn French. Gardner and Lambert surmised that it is very likely that the Maine students enjoy being with other Franco-Americans, and that they probably speak French among friends, more so than in Louisiana. Another comparison revealed that the Maine students saw much more clearly the practical value of knowing French, were more confident in their proficiency and did more of their thinking in French than the Louisiana students.

Lambert, Giles and Picard (1975) again chose an area of Maine, the St. John Valley, as a focus of study. They used a matched guise test administered to three age groups: bilingual college students from the Valley, bilingual high school students, and 10-year-olds also from the Valley. The college students attached no stigmas to local dialects of French or English. The high school students emerged as more sensitive to such differences in language usage than the college students. One group of 10-year-olds who were involved in a bilingual program preferred upper class versions of the local dialect and were more prone to model

themselves on the middle class French-Canadian dialect. The 10-year-olds who were not in a bilingual program were strongly oriented toward English-speaking models, but favored the lower class variant of local French over middle class French-Canadian French. Lambert, et al. concluded then that at age 10 the typical Franco-American youngster from the St. John Valley, following an all-English curriculum in public school, rejects French ethnicity and orients himself to English-speaking Americans as a model.

These results generally support my hypothesis for a loss of ethnic language, at least in the younger generations of Franco-Americans not enrolled in a bilingual program.

2) Domains

Much of the theoretical foundation regarding domains of language behavior has been provided by Fishman. In calling attention to the need for multi-measure studies of language maintenance and shift, he identified the area of domains as a different dimension in the measurement of bilingualism. Fishman's (1972) consideration of variance categorizes three types of media variance: written, read, and spoken language, which would differ considerably depending on the presence and time of attainment of literacy in respect to the mother tongue.

He further identifies three elements varying overtness in language:

1) inner speech, in which the speaker is both source and target;

2) comprehension, or decoding, in which the speaker is the target;

3) production, or encoding, in which the speaker is the source.

The degree of maintenance or shift varies according to the amount of resistance on the part of the speaker, and Fishman states that inner speech would be the most resistant to interference and disuse of mother tongue.

Fishman concludes by asserting that:

> Precise measurement of domains of maintenance or displacement will be possible only after concerted attention is given to the construction of instruments that are based upon a careful consideration of the various domains of language behavior (and the role-relations, topics, and locales). . . mentioned in a scattered international literature (p. 116).

Perhaps the best known inventory for identifying and describing language domains in the speech patterns of bilinguals is that developed by Mackey (1968) to depict the "function" segment of his description of bilingualism. He identifies two types of functions, external and internal. External functions, such as home, work, or school, are determined by the number of areas of contact and by the variation of each in duration, frequency, and pressure. The second type of function, internal, includes non-communicative uses, such as talking to onself, dealing with numbers, dreaming, and list-making.

While Mackey's model appears to be the most generally

applicable to studies of any bilingual situation, Barker's (1972) itemized list of social relations is also relevant and useful. Barker used this list in his study of bilingualism in a Mexican-American community in Tucson. The investigation was designed to determine if certain language functions could account for wide variation in linguistic behavior among bilinguals of the same general community. Barker focused on the different symbolic values which the individual, by reasons of his social experiences, ascribes to his ethnic language and to the English language.

Other studies in the area of language domains have not had as much relevance as the previously mentioned studies, so I will mention them only briefly here.

In the study of bilingualism in Paraguay, Rubin (1968) isolated five dimensions or factors for language domains: location, formality, intimacy, seriousness of the situation, and sex. The purpose of her study was to determine the factors making a particular language appropriate in a specific situation within the general context of Paraguayan bilingualism.

Greenfield and Lambert (1971) identified five domains (which correspond somewhat with Mackey's divisions) in their study of Puerto Rican bilinguals: family, friendship, religion, education and work. Greenfield and Lambert related these domains specifically to the variants of person, place, and topic. The subjects, Puerto Rican children, claimed Spanish

less than English in all five domains, regardless of the variant. This study also showed evidence of loss of ethnic language, though unfortunately the study did not include older generation Puerto Ricans who may have made opposite claims regarding language choice.

In an exploratory study of the languages of Israel, Herman (1968) examined language choice in terms of potency of 1) the background situation when, for example, prestige of languages differs markedly, 2) of personal need, for example, when the situation is new or threateneing, and 3) of the immediate situation, as when a specific task-oriented behavior is required. The focus of the study was on which language is used when overlapping situations (personal vs. group needs) are antagonistic, i.e., which language has the higher potency.

Determining language domains with a dual-language word-association measure, Findling (1971) studied extra-group and intra-group domains as related to the need affiliation and future orientation of bilingual Puerto Ricans. Findling concluded that extra-group domains were more socially-depriving and produced more need affiliation (i.e., concern over establishing, maintaining, and restoring positive relationships with others) than intra-group domains.

3) Alternation

There are a greater number of studies in the area of alternation, most devoted to investigating and analyzing

one form of alternation in a particular bilingual community.

Examining the code-switching patterns among Japanese wives of Americans, Ervin-Tripp (1973) found that topic played a significant role in the language behavior of these women. When with other Japanese friends, reminiscing about Japan, discussing news from home, and gossiping were Japanese language domains. English was used when talking of American food and shopping, clothing, and husbands. Some women reported never using English with Japanese friends unless the husbands were present. Ervin-Tripp further found that language choice depended on a combination of topic and the ethnic background of the listener.

The most extensive work I have come across dealing with the labeling, description, categorization, and analysis of all types of alternation was done by Clyne (1967 and 1972) in his studies of German in Australia. He described the various forms of alternation from the very explicit "switching" which is a clean break at a lexeme boundary into another language, to the very fragmentary morphosemantic transference of various parts of speech.

Lance's (1970) definition of code-swithcing is broader than Clyne's, encompassing insertions of any form of one language into another. He concluded that the lack of knowledge of words in one language (Spanish or English) is not the principal reason for switching, but rather that "the word or phrase that is most readily available at the

moment for some usually unexplainable reason is the one that comes out" (p. 138).

Although the underlying causes of switching from one language to another have not been studied extensively enough to form conclusions, Lance's definition adds little to the literature. A more enlightening viewpoint is offered by Gumperz (1977) in a study of Spanish-English, Hindi-English and Slovenian-German bilingual speakers:

> The bilingual exchanges . . . show that code-switching does not necessarily indicate imperfect knowledge of the grammatical systems in question. Only in relatively few passages is code alternation motivated by a speaker's inability to find words to express what s/he wants to say in one of the other codes. In the majority of cases, the code-switching information could be equally well-expressed in either language . . . In conversational code-switching, the items in question form part of the same minimal speech act, and message elements are tied by syntactic and semantic relations apparently identical to those which join passages in a single language (p. 5).

Barker (1972), however, found that code-switching among Mexican-Americans was usually by deliberate choice. When all speakers and hearers were bilingual, language choice depended on:

1) the type of interpersonal relationship involved: intimate or formal, familial or económic, etc.;
2) the subject context;
3) the social context: presence or absence of Anglos, home environment, work environment, etc.

Investigating the relationship of two of the concepts I also studied, Guadalupe Valdes-Fallis (1976) observed the code-switching patterns of Mexican-American bilinguals for whom a language dominance profile had been established. She found that the patterns of alternation, frequency, length, etc., were similar for bilinguals of the same type. When the base language was Spanish, English switches were dependent on relative proficiency in Spanish of the speaker.

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF STUDY

A. Procedure

This multi-generational study of shifting language patterns was based on Mackey's (1968) Description of Bilingualism. His definition of bilingualism, the alternate use of two or more languages, includes the concepts of:

1) Degree--how well a speaker knows the languages he uses, or how bilingual he is.
2) Function--what role the languages have played in the total patterns of the speaker's behavior, or what he uses his languages for.
3) Alternation--the extent to which the speaker alternates between his languages, or how and under what conditions he changes from one to the other.

The first two of these concepts are the major foci of the questions to be answered with this study, though the third area of alternation will also be examined briefly. The study was conducted in three parts:

Part One. The collection of background information, both on the introduction and status of the English language in the two communities to be studied, and on each subject in the sample.

Much of the historical information I sought was provided by the Franco-American Research Organization Group,

associated with the University of Maine in Orono, and by Le Cercle d'Héritage Franco-américain, located in Lewiston, Maine.

The personal history of and attitudes toward the French and English languages of each subject was obtained during an interview session, and was recorded on prepared forms (see Appendix A--Personal Data Sheet, and Appendix B--Interview Questions). All information offered by my respondents was elicited verbally and tape recorded. Although this procedure was more time-consuming than having them fill out the forms themselves, there were two reasons why I felt it to be more profitable. First, any communication generated spontaneous speech and consequent valuable examples of alternation; second, some of my elderly respondents were illiterate and I wanted to spare them any discomfort or embarrassment.

When making appointments for interviews, I informed each of my respondents that I was bilingual, and that the interview, except for one section (determination of language dominance) could be conducted in whichever language they felt more comfortable.

The interview questions listed in Appendix B served as a basis for conversation. Moreover, I encouraged expansion of yes-no and one-word responses in an effort to record longer instances of spoken language.

The questions to be answered with this section were:

1) What internal and external forces compelled or enticed Franco-Americans to learn English? I felt that internal forces might include a desire to eradicate ethnic stigmas, a need to communicate with the world outside the French-speaking community, a desire to belong to a non-French-speaking peer group. External forces include political intervention, dictum of the educational system, societal stress on competition and success.

2) How and when was English introduced into the French school system, and what is the status of the French language in the schools now?

3) What were the reactions to the introduction of English in schools? For reactions, I was interested in general attitudes, whether positive, neutral, negative.

4) What is the general attitude regarding bilingualism, and how do the students feel about learning French now?

5) What institutions or persons do the Franco-Americans consider responsible for the preservation of their native language? Government, church, schools, parents, or the individual?

Part Two. The determination of language dominance for each respondent.

After an extensive search for a language dominance

measure that would be suitable for all age groups and that did not require reading or writing ability on the part of the subject, I decided on a modified version of the Foreign Service Institute's Check List for Self-Appraisal of Speaking Proficiency (see Appendix C--Language Dominance Evaluation Form, and Appendix D--Formulaire d'évaluation pour déterminer le langage dominant, the French translation of Appendix C). Modifications of the FSI form were necessary to exclude or replace questions which would be applicable only to Foreign Service personnel with some that were more appropriate for people with only limited-to-average exposure to world affairs. In addition, some of the questions were expanded to make them more appropriate for subjects in the younger age groups. For example, where an FSI question was limited to evaluating one's linguistic effectiveness in a work situation, the question was rewritten to include a comparable school activity.

Both the French and English dominance evaluation instruments were used with each subject. The order of administration was a function of which language the interview had initially been conducted in, i.e., if a subject requested French, the entire interview was first done in French, concluding with the English dominance form.

Subjects were asked to respond yes or no if they felt they could perform a certain task (among other criteria) in the particular language. In a few instances, the veracity

of a response presented an element of doubt. In these cases I asked the subject to demonstrate his/her ability in a type of role-play. Admittedly, these judgments were rather subjective and intuitively-based, but in general I found that my suspicions were confirmed.

If a respondent was monolingual in either language and did not comprehend the first question in the second-language evaluation, no further questions in that language were asked. S/he was then assigned a score of 0 for that language. As is apparent in Appendices C and D, the questions are divided into ten "S-levels", S-0+ to S-5, which correspond roughly to those on the FSI evaluation form. Assignment of score is based on meeting all of the requirements in one certain level.

In order to facilitate statistical analysis, the ten S-levels were converted into numerical scores from 0-100 in intervals of 10. Thus, a subject who met all the requirements at the S-2+ level, but not all those at the S-3 level, received a score of 50 for that language. Each subject was assigned a set of two scores, one for English, one for French.

The data obtained with this measure were used to answer the following questions:

1) How has language dominance shifted from one generation to the next within the same family and across the whole population? I was looking more

for a general indication (scores of 0-100%), rather than trying to establish a precise measure of language dominance.

2) Does the size, type (rural or urban), and location (proximity to other French-speaking towns and to the Canadian border) of bilingual communities affect the patterns of shift in language dominance?

3) How does the educational level achieved in both French and English affect the dominance scores of each language?

Part Three. Identification of language dominance behavior for each subject.

The form I devised for this part of the study (see Appendix E--Language Domain Inventory) was based on Mackey's (1968) "function" questionnaire, except that I restricted the external functions in my inventory to areas of contact (disregarding the variations) which include all media through which languages are acquired and used: home, community, school, and mass media of television, radio, and print. I further divided "community" into friends, work, and church. In addition, items from Barker's (1972) list were borrowed and used to note the language or dialect employed with the greatest frequency in each social relation and to record how language use between two individuals may change in different social situations. For example, how languages change when two people are alone or when

non-ethnic individuals are present, or when an emotional crisis is involved. Some of these features were included in the final form of my language domain inventory. I also expanded Greenfield's and Lambert's (1971) variant of "topic" and suggested several topics which could invite a different language choice.

I elicited responses for only those domains which were relevant to the age group of the subject. To avoid having to elicit a response for each contact on each topic, I structured my questions to arrive at the information more generally. For example, "Do you always speak to your mother in English? How about when you're discussing the past, or domestic problems?"

One of the domains under "Mass Media" needs clarification. There are no French language television stations in Maine, although two stations from Sherbrooke, Canada are available to those families who subscribe to the cable services. Therefore, some subjects who responded English only to "television" may have done so because French programming was not available to them.

Again, each subject was given a set of two scores, one for French and one for English. These are percentages of their total exposure to the domains where a language choice must be made. For example, if a respondent uses English 68% of the time, we can say s/he uses French the remaining 32% of the time. The resultant scores, then, are English--68, French--32.

Questions in the area of language domains were:

1) Is the score obtained on language dominance evaluations directly related to the number of domains in which one language is likely to be chosen over the other?
2) Does the size, type, and location of bilingual communities affect the number of domains in which one language is chosen over the other?
3) Is there a hierarchy of domains which allows for gross predictions about language choice?

Although the third concept in Mackey's (1968) definition of bilingualism--that of alternation--was not studied in depth, alternation between French and English within one domain will be discussed briefly in Chapter Six.

B. Setting

The two communities which were studied are Lewiston and Van Buren, Maine. Although both are considered Franco-American "centers", in many respects these two towns are in contrast to each other.

According to the 1970 Census of Population Report, Lewiston has a population of 41,779. Approximately 60% of this total claimed French as their mother tongue. Van Buren's population is only one-tenth the size of Lewiston's, 4,102, but approximately 94% claimed French as their mother tongue.

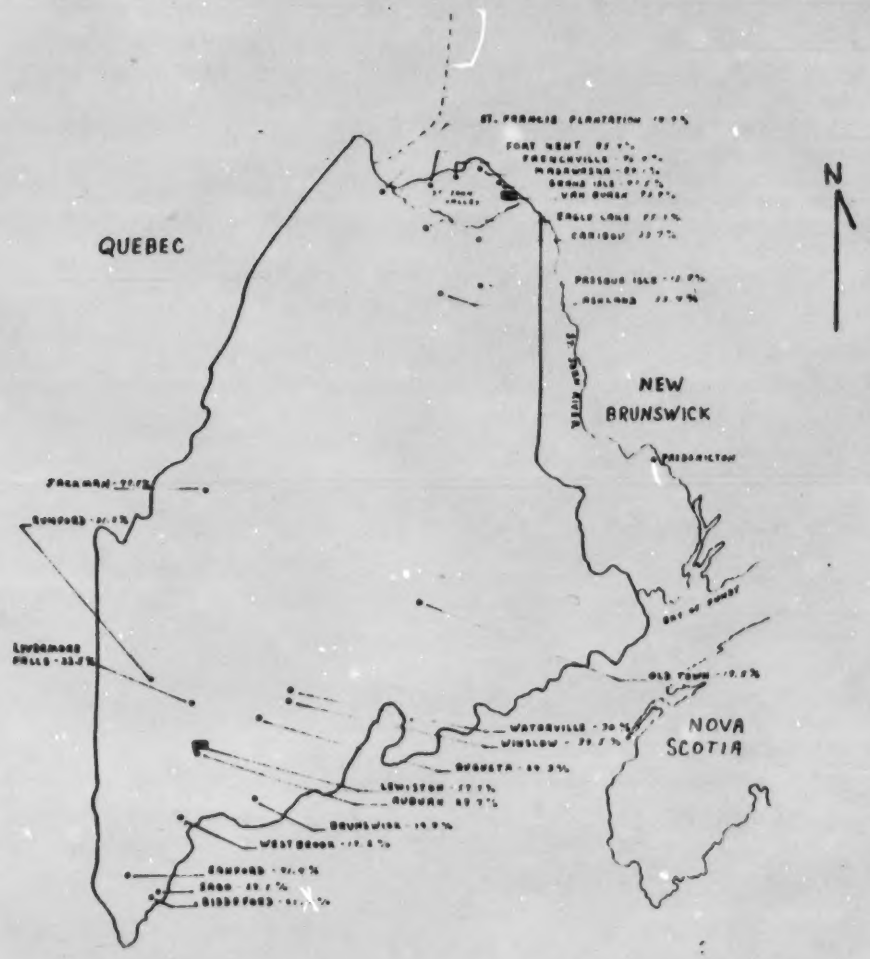
Lewiston is located in the southern part of the state (see Figure 1, p. 26); within a 50-mile radius there are no other communities which have as high a concentration of Franco-Americans. Van Buren is located in northern Aroostook County in a region known as the St. John Valley. Only the St. John River separates Van Buren from its Canadian neighbor, St. Leonard, also a French-speaking town. The map shows the high concentration of Franco-Americans surrounding Van Buren.

The main industries in Lewiston are shoe manufacturing and textiles, whose factories and mills were the original attraction for the Franco-Americans. In northern Van Buren and the surrounding area, potatoes are the greatest resource. School calendars are scheduled around the potato harvest so that school children are available for harvesting. These variables figure in some of the questions to be answered regarding dominance and domains.

It will be helpful to the reader's total perception of the Franco-Americans' present linguistic and cultural status to know something of the migratory history of this ethnic group, specifically those migrations which terminated in Lewiston and Van Buren.

Acadia, the area of which Van Buren is a part, was mentioned as early as 1524 by Jean Verrazano. Early figures describing Acadian territory extend it from Philadelphia to Fredericton, New Brunswick. It included present-day Nova

Figure 1. MAINE: Percentages claiming French mother tongue according to Census of Population 1970.



Scotia, Prince Edward Island, parts of New Brunswick, Maine, and the province of Quebec. The French who settled this territory controlled by La Compagnie D'Acadie became known as Acadians (Gauvin, 1965).

From the beginning to the end of the 17th century, there was strife between France and England over the Acadian territory. As a consequence, the Acadians were shuffled back and forth between the two countries for a hundred years:

1605 - French establish settlement in Acadian territory.

1620 - Pilgrims land on territory considered by France to be her own.

1628 - English raid Acadian settlement. Acadia passes to English hands for the first time.

1632 - Treaty of St. Germain restores Acadia to France. More successful attempts at colonization made.

1654 - Acadian territory returned to England. Threat of deportation if Acadians do not declare their allegiance to the British crown.

1670 - France once again claims Acadia.

1693 - More attempts by English to take Acadian settlements.

1710 - Acadia passes to English domination permanently.

The 18th century in Acadian history is characterized by constant harassment and destruction on the part of the British:

1713 - Treaty of Utrecht cedes all Acadia and its boundaries to England. Acadians "invited" to leave if dissatisfied but given no means (ships or permission to cut a road through the wilderness) by which to do so. England obtaining material gains from Acadian colonists, so not overly anxious for the Acadians to leave the

area barren. Acadians refuse to pledge oath of allegiance to England. Claim no assistance from mother country since France left them to fend for themselves.

1749 - First English settlement established in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Acadians no longer needed to cultivate area and only crowding territory where British moving in. Plot by English Administrator to rid territory of French.

1755 - French settlers expelled from southern Acadian territory. Wide distribution (Virginia, Maryland, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Connecticut, and Europe) meant to weaken French spirit and unity. Entire North American continent receives wandering groups of refugees. Those who escape seek safety in Quebec and in the St. John Valley (Gauvin, 1965). Settlements begin to appear in continental Nova Scotia along the St. John and Kennebecasis Rivers, and on the northern and eastern shores of what is now New Brunswick. British make attempts to drive out the Acadians, leaving the lower valley in smoking ruins (Melvin, 1975).

1758 - British Rangers completely destroy the Nova Scotia settlements. More Acadians seek refuge in Quebec. Others remain to start over.

1768 - Governor General orders several families to leave the St. John Valley but orders are not carried out. Acadians are left with great feeling of insecurity.

1783 - Signing of the Treaty of Paris sends thousands of Loyalists and disbanded soldiers to New Brunswick, causing a second big exodus of Acadians. French land confiscated, crops stolen, homes destroyed. Governor Parr of Nova Scotia ensures that payment be made to Acadians for land improvements in the form of assistance in resettling in Le Madawaska, or upper St. John Valley. Fort Kent and Van Buren are set off as separate plantations, each given a school, post office, and a magistrate (Melvin, 1975).

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Americans suddenly realized that the English had this valuable

Madawaska territory. Disputes between Americans and English ensued, the French once again caught in the middle. The area in question extended from Moncton, New Brunswick to Houlton, Maine, covering several hundred miles of land. The dispute over the boundary put the French in a very precarious position:

1824-1828 - Aroostook boundary dispute between U.S. and England.

1841 - Lord Ashburton sent to Washington to deliberate with Daniel Webster over the boundary, in an attempt to avoid another international war. Ashburton Treaty resolved that the St. John River was to divide Madawaska lands.

The implication of this decision was that, for a 2-mile block, the Acadians on the right bank of the St. John River had to change nationality, since they were in the domain of England. The French population was then divided between two English-speaking countries.

Toward the middle of the 19th century, a large group of immigrants from Quebec joined the settlements in the St. John Valley, and by 1910 the first and second generations of this group numbered 61,700. In 1940, 138,000 French-speaking people were estimated to inhabit this region, including the Van Buren plantation.

Before 1878, French had never been the official language, nor the language of instruction, nor even a subject taught, at least in the public schools. Instructors were encouraged to use French at the elementary level, for

the purpose of being understood by those school children who still had not acquired English. It was for this reason that in 1878 a special French school was established in the territory inhabited by the French. The school functioned for six months at the Van Buren plantation, then for the next six months at Fort Kent. Kloss (1971) stated that in 1920 the official schools of Van Buren had passed from French unilingualism to bilingualism. French was maintained in the local administration for a longer period of time. Town meetings in the St. John Valley were held in French up until 1950.

Gradually French was banned from the Valley schools. The war against the French language reached its goal when students and teachers alike were no longer permitted to speak French even during recreation periods. It was thought that any communication in the mother tongue would undermine the success of acquiring the second language (Kloss, 1971). Comments such as the following, related by one of the respondents in my study, are not uncommon:

> When I started school all the kids knew a little English. When we arrived at school we were allowed to speak only English, no French at all. They (teachers) would punish us if we spoke it. They'd have us kneel in the corner, or keep us in from recess. I remember hearing they used to

> hit your fingers with a ruler. But they didn't do that in my time (V4F43).*
> (Translation by author.)

Bilingual parochial schools continued to teach French into the 1940's. These schools, however, tended to favor a ghetto mentality and a certain antagonism between the English and French cultures. Moreover, many teachers were unable to teach standard English because of their inadequate pronunciation. Generally, the bilinguals had difficulty succeeding in certain linguistic domains. It is for this reason that French was long associated with poverty and lack of education. Some of the parochial schools have become public schools, though they continue to employ a number of teachers from religious orders.

In 1942, French was officially introduced as a subject in Van Buren's public elementary schools (3rd through 6th grades). In 1959-60, approximately 1000 students were studying French (Kloss, 1971).

The French migration which terminated in Lewiston began much later in history than that terminating in Van Buren during the mid-19th century. For the many French who had settled in parts of Canada over the last 200 years, life in that country became exceedingly difficult. Canada was suffering politically and economically during a time when

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*The coding system consists of a 4-letter-digit combination identifying the respondent's home town, family number, sex, and age. V4F43 is a 43-year-old female, and a member of the 4th family to be interviewed in Van Buren.

the U.S. was expanding at a tremendous rate (Beaulieu, 1971). In the late 1800's, the lack of market in agriculture caused a considerable drop in prices, making life miserable for the farmers (Tonsill, 1943). With this combination of internal conditions and external forces exerted upon them by their nearest neighbor, the U.S., and by the mother country, Great Britain, the French Canadians began their long migration to the U.S. It was estimated that by 1860, 250,000 French-Canadians had moved to the U.S. (McInnis, 1947), and by 1891 that figure had reached 1,000,000. "Steamboats carried hundreds from half-depopulated Canadian villages to such ports as Lewiston and Cleveland" (Creighton, 1937).

Lewiston's industrial growth was largely influenced by the reign of cotton in the South, with the raw product being shipped north for processing in New England mills. As more cotton was cultivated, additional factories were needed, creating a demand for labor. Industrialists and French-Canadians found a mutually beneficial answer to their problems. By 1860, the city of Lewiston had built five of the major cotton processing plants in the state, with an employment capacity of 4,500 people (Leading Businessmen, 1889). Recruiters were sent to Canada and found little enticement necessary to draw the French to Lewiston. They proved to be steady and reliable employees, and generally were considered less demanding than the typical American laborer (Rumilly, 1958).

For French-Canadian farmers, the U.S. was willing to make land available where Canada had been very reluctant to give such special privileges to its citizens. Also, Maine offered a wide range of opportunity in lumbering, boat building, shoe manufacturing, among others (Wiggins, 1963). In Lewiston the population increased, with the influx of French-Canadians, from 7,400 to 19,000 (Leading Businessmen, 1889), with the concentration of French living in an area known as Little Canada where they could maintain their language and customs.

For a large number of French-Canadians, the stay in the U.S. was always meant to be temporary, until they had built up enough capital to purchase a large Canadian estate, or to repay mortgages or to get freed from feudal oppression. But many chose to stay in the U.S. rather than return to the same deprived state of affairs in Canada (Beaulieu, 1971). They also well appreciated the fact that freedom of speech as well as choice of school and church were guaranteed by the Constitution (Lewiston Historical Commission, 1974). The availability of education in Lewiston had been a major concern to many French-Canadian fathers. Most went ahead of the family to evaluate the educational and religious opportunities. Fortunately, the Irish settlers, who had preceded the French, had already established a Catholic church and school in Lewiston. These sufficed until the French were able to establish their own institutions

with French-speaking clergy and teachers.

In December of 1878, Lewiston's first bilingual parochial elementary school enrolled 200 students, and in 1906, St. Dominic's, a parochial high school for girls, was founded. During the 1924-25 academic year enrollment had reached 1800 pupils (Fortier, 1973).

Up until 1964, the parochial schools enrolled a large number of students who were taught half the subjects in French. The following year, the only course taught in French was the French language. Even religion was taught in English (Fortier, 1973). The public schools had by then added a French language course to their unilingual curriculum.

C. Sample

In each community I located ten families comprised of three or four generations, of which at least one spoke French. A master list of possible families was compiled from suggestions made by the Franco-American groups mentioned earlier, church officials, and friends. Final selection consisted of the twenty families whose members agreed to the interview.

Care was taken to interview those children I felt were old enough to understand some of the rather sophisticated questions put to them. Although I had decided on 12 as the minimum age, I interviewed 11 and 10-year-olds in a few families.

Each subject was assigned a code number consisting of a 4-letter-digit combination, which identified his/her home town, family number, sex and age. For example, L5F70 is a 70-year-old female who is a member of the 5th family I interviewed in Lewiston. My twenty-family sample had a total of 65 respondents ranging in age from 10 to 86.

At this point, the reader should be cautioned to consider the sample size and manner of selection. It would seem that data obtained on 65 subjects who do not reflect a random selection could not really be representative of two entire communities. However, viewed as a product of the cultural group which came to settle one of those communities, I have no reason to believe that the predictions made on the basis of this sample would not apply to the communities as a whole. Furthermore, even though the sample was not strictly random, I conducted the interviews with no preconceived notion of the language patterns in each family. Thus, I was prepared to accept for analysis whatever the respondents offered.

CHAPTER III

DISCUSSION OF ATTITUDES

The decline of the French language in the two Maine communities under study is manifested not only in the statistically measurable aspects of dominance, domains and alternation, but also in the attitudes of the informants toward the French and English languages.

The following account, offered by the members of Family L9, portrays the onset of English language acquisition, subsequent bilingualism, and finally, the gradual loss of the French language. This family's linguistic development is clear evidence supporting my hypothesis for loss of ethnic language, and represents a more or less typical series of events in the linguistic history of Franco-Americans of this region.

Portrait of a Franco-American Family (Family L9)

L9F84 remembers learning English by candlelight, struggling over the words in magazines, catalogs, and newspapers. When she ran into a word she didn't know, the next ones gave her enough clues to uncover the general meaning.

Her indeterminate attendance over six years at a French school in St. Agathe, the little French community where her parents were born, gave her education in her mother tongue only. Later, when English was being introduced into the school systems, being the oldest of the family she was

delegated, as was the custom, to stay home to help care for younger siblings. Consequently, her siblings--with some English education and with outside jobs that exposed them to the new language--learned English much more quickly and at a much younger age than L9F84.

Her self-instruction in English, however, enables her to read the newspapers today and to make herself understood in English when the need arises. Generally she shies away from speaking English in a group, but seems pleased with this personal achievement. She recalls with pride when English-speaking soldiers came to tell her that two of her sons had been killed in the war, she was able to understand them and answer all their questions.

Widowed at a young age, with four children, she later remarried a widower with four children of his own. In the next twenty years she gave birth to fourteen more children. Her immediate descendants include 65 grandchildren, 62 great-grandchildren, and 3 great-great-grandchildren.

All of L9F84's children were educated in St. John Valley parochial schools, but only religion and French language instruction were conducted in the mother tongue. All other courses, including geography, American history, math, and science, were given in English. L9F58, the eldest child from the second marriage, recalls that those courses using English as language of instruction did not teach her to speak that language, only to read and write it.

Employment opportunities were becoming increasingly scarce in the Valley, so in 1940 the family moved to Lewiston to join an already-established group of Franco-Americans who had settled in that community. L9F58 was 16 years old and could not speak very much English. Working in the textile mills exposed her to a number of English speakers who were also employed there, and she quickly acquired the English language. Now she admits she likes speaking English better than French, and believes that her dialect of French is not appropriate or useful anywhere outside the Franco-American communities of Maine. She is resigned to the fact that her grandchildren will most probably never learn to speak French, but considers this transition inevitable and simply a sign of the times.

Her oldest child, L9F31, remembers French being the language most spoken in the home before she began school, but that she had learned some English from neighborhood children. In Lewiston most of the parochial schools at that time were on the half-day system, i.e., a half-day of French instruction and a half-day in English. The year before she was to enter high school (her three younger siblings were already enrolled in elementary parochial schools), the family relocated and all were forced to attend English public schools. It was at this time that her parents switched to English as the language in the home, believing English was more profitable. Consequently, her siblings, with less

exposure to French in the home and no more than one course in school, quickly began to lose interest and proficiency in their mother tongue. They still understand French, but none of them speak it. L9F31, on the other hand, says she has always felt more comfortable in French, and is grateful she had the language opportunities which allow her to communicate fully in both French and English today. Her bilingualism has also been an asset when seeking employment.

L9F31 married a person of French background, but of a family whose French-language maintenance efforts ended with his generation. Because of his limited knowledge of French, that language is rarely spoken in the L9 household if he is present.

L9M11, their 11-year-old son, does not speak more than a few words of French, and really understands very little. His mother has deep regret about the French-language situation in Maine, and especially within her own family, but feels rather stymied:

> He (son) knows a few words. But I would have to spend long hours to teach him the whole thing where it would have come so easily to him when he was young and willing to learn--when he was open to it.

L9M11 says he is open to it now, and that next year when the 7th graders are offered a French course he will take it. Perhaps this beginning will provide incentive for his mother to reinforce the French instruction her son will receive in school. If it fails to do so, it is rather doubtful that

L9M11 will learn to speak French. It is even more doubtful that his children will become proficient French speakers who are spurred by a deep-rooted desire to maintain the language of their father's ancestors.

* * * * *

Learning English in the manner of L9F84 reflects strong motivation to acquire the new language. Among many in the same age group, lack of suitable educational opportunities necessitated this kind of self-instruction. Most of my respondents in the upper two age groups reported a desire to learn English "to be able to communicate with English speakers," and felt it was especially necessary in certain work settings. Several also reported that they had simply accepted English because it was part of being American. Though most added that knowing two languages was a valuable asset, 20% of the 70 and 80-year-olds said they resented having to learn a second language, and 40% of the respondents in that same group never acquired English at all.

At least one respondent from each age group reported learning English because they were forced to do so by the school system. The youngest of these was 19 years old, however, and no younger subject reported a feeling of being forced to learn English.

Most of the 10 to 19-year-olds who spoke mostly French

in the home before beginning school said they acquired English quickly so as to become part of an English-speaking peer group at school.

Reactions to Learning English in School

Table 1 shows the general reactions to learning English in the schools. Only those respondents who claimed French as being the language most commonly spoken in the home before starting school are included.

Table 1. General reactions to learning English in school.

Age Group	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Not Acquired
80-89	16.6	16.6	16.6	50
70-79	30.0	30.0	10.0	30
60-69	60.0	20.0	20.0	
50-59	60.0	20.0	20.0	
40-49	33.3	50.0	16.6	
30-39	25.0	62.5	12.5	
20-29	0.0	50.0	50.0	
10-19	44.4	44.4	11.1	
Average	33.7	36.7	19.6	40

Of those people who had acquired English, an average of 33.7% felt that learning English was beneficial and interesting, and welcomed the opportunity to learn it in

school. A slightly higher average, 36.7%, said that they had simply accepted learning English without question, and didn't remember feeling strongly about the language in either direction. Only 19.6% felt resentful at having been forced to learn English in school, stating that it interfered with their retention of French, or worse, created conditions of anxiety when they were not allowed to speak their mother tongue in school.

Reactions Towards French

The reactions towards French of those for whom French is claimed as a second language show a very different distribution. Table 2 reflects the reactions of the two youngest age groups, the only groups for whom English was the language spoken most commonly in the home.

Table 2. General reactions towards the French language of age groups claiming French as a second language.

Age Group	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Not Acquired
20-29	0.0	0	100.0	
10-19	27.3	0	63.6	9.1

An extremely high percentage of the respondents in this category expressed negative attitudes toward learning the French language. For most, it was a question of the mode of instruction. They felt they were learning only grammar

rules or vocabulary, rather than communicative skills.

Those respondents who expressed a positive attitude towards learning the French language in school were mostly those whose first words were spoken in French, who spoke French in the home before starting school, whose parents maintained French in the home while English was being acquired by their child, and who tended to associate with other French-speaking students at school.

Attitudes Towards Bilingualism and the Local Dialect of French

All respondents who claimed to be bilingual expressed a sense of gratitude and pride in being able to speak two languages:

> When I started speaking English I started noticing the English people who didn't understand or speak a word of French. So I tell you I was pretty proud that I could make myself understood in two languages and they couldn't even be bothered to learn any French (V8F75).

For some of the younger respondents this positive attitude towards bilingualism is new-found:

> Last year the teachers started saying that bilingualism was in. It was better to learn two languages. And some people never have that chance. So that's when I really started to think that is was good (V3F13).

Many offered anecdotal examples of the advantages of being bilingual. The following is not an uncommon theme:

> The first job I had in Connecticut I got because I could speak French and English. This place had a sign in front of it--NO WORK. And I went in and saw the cashier

> arguing with a woman. She didn't speak a word of English and he didn't speak French. I listened for a moment then I asked the lady what was wrong. It was something very simple. I told the cashier and he said, "Is that all she wants? We can take care of that right away." Well, the boss was standing there listening to all this and he hired me on the spot (V4M70).

Others, though appreciative of the fact that they could communicate in both English and some form of French, felt their local dialect of French would be unacceptable by other standards:

> I always felt like I wasn't speaking it (French) right compared to other French people. It sounded very unintelligent. A lot of times you'll be speaking in French and the first thing you know you're throwing in an English word. We didn't really learn the real French (L4F36).

There were numerous references made to the local dialect not being like Parisian French, not the correct way of talking, just a "jargon," not real, not understandable to real French speakers, sometimes embarrassing, being marked because of the type of accent. Generally, however, bilingualism is viewed as an asset, at least in those parts of Maine where the local dialect is thought to be intelligible.

Views on the Status of the French Language in Maine

That the French language in Maine has declined considerably over the last two decades does not seem to be debatable. But a strong difference of opinion exists concerning the fate of the French language in the years to come. Is

the decline irreversible or is a degree of renewed interest enough to change the direction of an immigrant language which appears to be giving up its ground to the English language? At this point, the fate of the French language is still largely a matter of opinion.

When all respondents had offered their personal evaluation of the situation, the original variable of "location" greatly affected the distribution of opinions in the two towns. Table 3 shows the percentage of people in each group as they answered the question, "Do you think the French language in Maine is dying?"

Table 3. Opinions on future of French language in Maine: Is French dying?

Age Group	Van Buren		Lewiston	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
80-89	50	50	100	0
70-79	67	33	75	25
60-69	100	0	100	0
50-59	33	67	100	0
40-49	40	60	40	50
30-39	0	100	75	25
20-29	100	0	100	0
10-19	58	42	100	0
Average	56	44	87.5	12.5

Clearly, the Van Buren subjects tended more toward optimism than the Lewiston sample. In Van Buren, an average of 44% felt that because of a renewed interest in French promoted by Title VII, the federally-funded bilingual program, and because of the steady influx of French-Canadians coming into the Valley, that there will always be French in Van Buren. In Lewiston, on the other hand, very few respondents, only 12.5%, felt that French would be maintained in some parts of Maine, but were not very hopeful about Lewiston's maintenance efforts.

Responsibility for Decline and Preservation of French Language

When asked who or what was responsible for the decline of the French language in Maine, respondents offered a wide variety of opinions. The sources most frequently identified, however, were parents' inability to maintain the language in the home, the influence of television, the Catholic Church's abandonment of the parochial school system, and the schools' emphasis on English. The following comments express typical reactions to the question of decline:

> It's the young ones who are losing it (French). But the parents don't speak enough to their children. They should speak to them only in French, at least in the house so that they keep their French (V1F71).

> My four oldest can speak French fluently but from the fourth to the youngest there's 5½ years. But, of course, in that time we had television that was introduced to us. That's where you could see it, inside of a

> year the children all switched to English (L4F63).
>
> After we left the parochial school system everything changed. They (siblings) couldn't speak French and it wasn't spoken as much at home. I'm really sorry that French is being phased out (L9F31).
>
> We were speaking just French in the home. The two oldest spoke fluent French and the next one was saying a few words. And when the middle one started school he had a problem. So for the first year he didn't communicate at all with the other kids and with his teacher because he felt withdrawn. He didn't know the English language at all. They kept him back a year because of lack of language and she (teacher) told us that following summer that we would have to start speaking to him in English--everything in English. So we just turned from French to English. This is why all the rest of the kids were raised in the English language, to help them out. They (teachers) felt that the language that would benefit them most was English, to make it in school. I'm sorry for it now (V2F37).

Only two of the 65 respondents responded "no" to the question, "Do you think we should try to preserve the French language in Maine?", both making reference to the absence of a need for both languages:

> I don't see the need for French any more because I could see with my generation we have to deal with our grandparents, we have to work with older people maybe who might speak only French. But by the time my kids get out into the working world these older people who speak only French will be gone and everyone in Lewiston will be either bilingual or only English-speaking (L7F31).

As to who the subjects considered responsible for the

preservation of French, again we find a variety of comments. Most placed the responsibility on parents, schools and the church, or a combination of the three. Some thought federal programs might be helpful but did not feel language preservation was really a function of government.

CHAPTER IV

PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE DOMINANCE

Setting

As explained in the chapter describing this study, the Franco-American communities of Lewiston and Van Buren were chosen on the basis of contrasting independent variables, i.e., size, type, and location. Although I was confident that my prediction of dominance reversal would apply to both communities, I had also expected, because of the variables mentioned above, that the dominance test scores in Lewiston would be significantly different, displaying a much more drastic shift in dominance than in Van Buren. There were differences between the Lewiston and Van Buren groups, as indicated in Table 4, but these differences were not statistically significant. Each group was divided into French Dominant, English Dominant, or French/English Equal, depending on the raw scores obtained on both the French and the English dominance evaluations. (Dominant language is defined as that for which the respondent obtained a higher score; the definition extends to those cases where respondents spoke only one language, i.e., that one language was considered dominant.) A comparison of Lewiston and Van Buren in a chi square test yielded a χ^2 of 2.05 which does not reflect a significant difference.

Table 4. Language dominance by location.

	Eng. Dom.	Fr. Dom.	Equal	
Lewiston	21	9	2	N=32
Van Buren	15	14	4	N=33

Although location variables do not seem to have had a significant effect on the trend of dominance reversal in Van Buren, I cannot conclude that the two communities are not different. There is a modest but constant flow of French-Canadian immigrants to Van Buren, and the fact that this town is surrounded by other French communities means there are more opportunities to speak French. The difference I was expecting, then, would be more subtly reflected in proficiency scores on the dominance evaluations. I ran t-tests for each 10-year age group, comparing the scores on the French dominance evaluation for Lewiston and Van Buren. The only statistically significant difference was found among the 10-19 year olds (t=3.86, significant at better than the .01 level). The mean score for this age group in Van Buren was 30, while in Lewiston the same age group achieved a mean of only 1.25. Further study might be necessary to explain why this significant difference in scores was obtained for the youngest age group. It may be attributable to the method of sample selection, so again, the reader is cautioned to consider the sample size and selection method when examining statistical results.

Generations and Patterns of Dominance

On the basis of the chi-square results, I decided to treat the 65 respondents making up the 10 families in each community as one sample. Looking at the dominance patterns within each of the 20 families, we see a common trend, moving from French to English. The scores on the dominance tests can be categorized as falling into one of five categories:

5 - French only
4 - French dominant
3 - French-English equal
2 - English dominant
1 - English only

The question to be pursued is whether or not these categories represent irreversible steps from French monolingualism to English monolingualism. Consider the following examples:

Family L1 -	L1F86 - French only	5	
	L1F64 - French dom.	4	
	L1F39 - Equal	3 →	skipped 1 step
	L1F15 - English only	1	
Family V6 -	V6F67 - French dom.	4 →	skipped 1 step
	V6F36 - English dom.	2	English dom. increased in younger generation
	V6M15 - English dom.	2	
	V6M11 - English only	1	same generation

Family L6 -	L6M83 - French dom.	4	degree of French dom. maintained
	L6F49 - French dom.	4	
	L6M21 - English only	1	→ skipped 2 steps
Family L7 -	L7F69 - Equal	3	
	L7F31 - English dom.	2	
	L7F11 - English only	1	

The following facts summarize the dominance reversal trend common to all 20 families:

1) No matter which category the oldest generation falls into, the next generation is always in a lower category (as in Families L1, V6, and L7), or an equal category (as in Family L6). That is, the trend moving away from French (monolingualism or dominance is never reversed.

2) If a category is maintained through two generations, proficiency in French is always lower for the younger generation (as in Family V6) or maintained at the same level (as in Family L6), but never higher.

3) Proficiency in English is, with one exception, higher than or equal to that of the generation preceding it. (In the exceptional case, a lower score in English was obtained by a younger sibling who was also tested. His lower score may be attributed to fewer years of education.)

4) Categories 3 and 5 are never repeated. Step 3 represents balanced bilingualism, a linguistic state which by any measure is not extremely common. Only seven of my 65 respondents achieved the same score for both languages. It would be very unlikely, then, for a member of the succeeding generation to also be considered a balanced bilingual. All evidence indicates a rapid acquisition of English by the younger generations, which would create a trend toward English dominance or English monolingualism. That Step 5, French-only, is never repeated (but Step 1, English-only, is) is further evidence that French mother tongue is being displaced by the force of a second language.

5) Each step is skipped by at least one family, and two steps are skipped (as in Family L6) in two families. See Table 5 below.

Table 5. Step-skipping

Steps	No. of times skipped
5, F-Only	17
4, F-Dom.	4
3, F-E Equal	13
2, E-Dom.	3
1, E-Only	8

The 17 skips in Step 5 indicate that only 3 of the subjects I interviewed were monolingual French-speakers. Therefore, the process of second language acquisition had begun even with most of the subjects in their 70's and 80's.

The lowest number of skips in Steps 4 and 2 represents the wide range of dominance levels. Whether a respondent was able to perform at the S-0+ range in his/her second language or achieved a score of 90 in his/her native language and 80 in the second language, s/he was considered bilingual and placed in one of the two dominance categories, Step 2 or 4. This situation is also reflected in the Step 1 skips where subjects with very low French scores were still termed bilinguals. By other definitions or measures they may have been judged speakers of English only.

Age and Patterns of Dominance

Figure 2 shows the percentage of dominance for each age group. Clearly a reversal trend is indicated. Among the 60-year-old age group, the pattern seems to move much more drastically toward English dominance. Among the 40 and 50-year-olds, the pattern appears to revert to a situation closer to balanced bilingualism, and in effect, the largest percentage of balanced bilinguals is among the 40-year-olds (43%), and the next age groups show a drastic movement toward English dominance. From the data collected I was unable to ascertain the reasons for the shift in this

continuum. Among the two youngest age groups, we find no subjects who are dominant in French, again demonstrating the tremendous influence of English on the young Franco-Americans.

Figure 2. Percentage of respondents in each age group receiving a higher score for one language than the other.

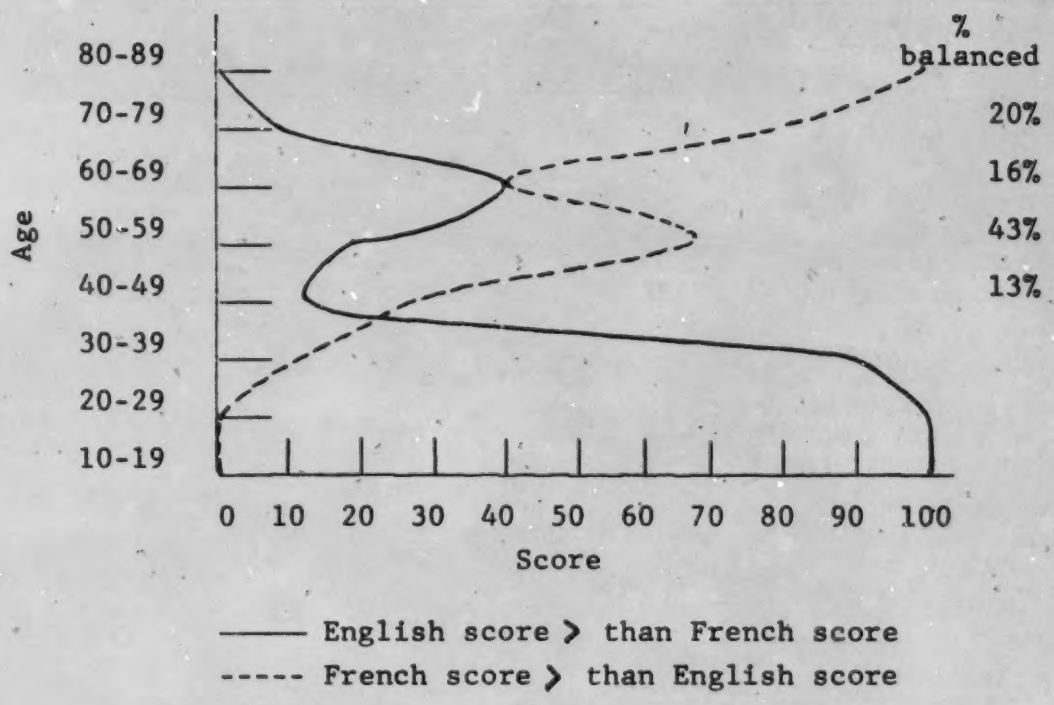
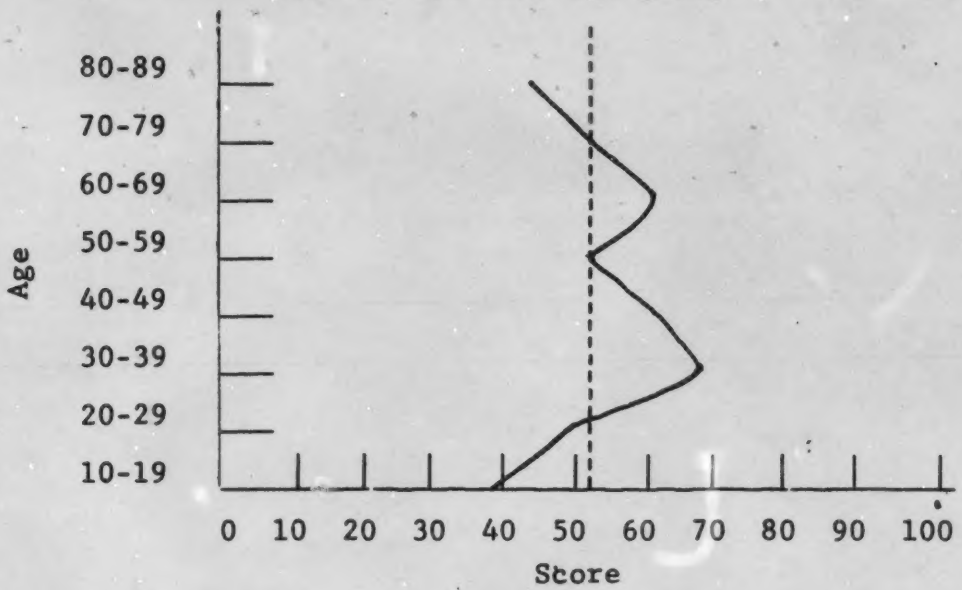


Figure 3 represents the average total verbal repertoire for each age group (French and English scores averaged for each subject). As the second language is acquired and expanded, scores in that language increase, thereby increasing the total verbal repertoire. The 30-39 year old age group shows the highest total verbal repertoire, surpassing

the sample mean of 53.7 by 14 score points. In the two youngest age groups, the total verbal repertoire decreases significantly, as the French scores drop. It might be suggested that the two bilingual communities in this study no longer have as great a need to remain bilingual and the mother tongue is being displaced by English. The prediction made here is that for the next generations, total verbal repertoire as a bilingual variable will have no basis for analysis since the data for language usage will be available only on speakers of English. On a much larger scale than the present situation, the French language will have been phased out.

Figure 3. Average total verbal repertoire (average of French and English scores) for each age group.



Education and Patterns of Dominance

It seems reasonable to expect that the amount of an individual's education would have a significant effect on the scores for the language dominance evaluation. Although the instrument I was using did not focus on purely academic matter, and many of the questions did require subjective responses, e.g., "Do native speakers think of you as a native speaker?", education appeared to influence a respondent's ability to respond appropriately.

A high correlation was found between score for English dominance and the number of years of education in English, $\rho=.74$ (significant at better than the .01 level). Using the same rank order correlation for the French scores, however, revealed a different result. The ρ of .25 was barely significant at the .05 level. The low correlation is not totally surprising when the data shows scores of 0 on the French dominance evaluation even after claiming 5-11 years of education in French.

The interview sessions exposed some of the possible reasons for this relatively low correlation between French scores and number of years of French education. Many of my subjects reported that soon after education in French stopped, the need to use French existed only in a few domains (e.g., when speaking to grandparents), especially when parents had adopted English as the language of the home. Also, many expressed dissatisfaction with the content and focus of the

French courses in which they were enrolled or simply with learning the French language in general:

> The only reason I hated French classes was that we studied vowels and stuff. We never really learned how to speak it. That's where I had most of my problems, learning to speak it correctly. They (teachers) were just teaching you words at a time, they weren't teaching conversation (V1F19).
>
> I didn't sign up for French in the 8th because I DON'T LIKE IT! (L5F13)

Among the older age groups, education in their first language was limited also to French language courses, and possibly religion. History, geography, and math were taught in English, making it difficult to respond appropriately to questions concerning the geography of the U.S., state or community, or concerning mental arithmetic. Proper vocabulary terms in these areas were often lacking.

I suspected also that some of my subjects possessed the ability to answer some of the questions, but I could not convince them to do so. Many had allowed their French to deteriorate somewhat from disuse, or had negative attitudes toward their particular dialect of French, and were therefore embarrassed to try answering in French.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DOMAIN DATA

A. Domains and Dominance

As described in Chapter IV, each respondent received a set of two scores representing his/her own evaluation of language usage in both French and English. The instrument used to analyze the domains of language behavior of these individuals also obtained a set of two scores, one for each language, based on the percentages of contexts in which s/he uses each language. For each context in each language, a score of 0 was assigned if the informant claimed to never use that language in that context; a score of 1 was assigned if s/he claimed to use that language some of the time, and a score of 2 if s/he reported to use that language all of the time in that context. Contexts which were irrelevant to a particular respondent (e.g., talking with grandchildren in the case of teenagers) were not included. Total score for language X was computed by dividing the sum of scores for that language by the total number of relevant contexts. The sum of French score + English score always equals 100%.

Correlations were computed between English dominance scores and English domain scores, and between the French dominance and domain scores. The coefficient for English is $\rho=.589$, significant at the .001 level. The correlation

of the French measures, $\rho=.694$, is also significant at that level. What can be surmised from this high correlation is that degree of bilingualism is closely related to the percentage of functions and domains in which the languages are used. A person who uses French, for example, for 70% of the language functions investigated is more likely to obtain a high score on the French dominance evaluation than a person who uses French for only 30% of those functions.

B. Setting and the Domains of Language Behavior

Although the variable of setting did not appear to be a significant factor in the analysis of scores on the dominance evaluation, setting does seem to affect the percentage of total language usage for which each language is claimed, reflected in the scores in the domain inventory. A series of t-tests revealed that generally the Van Buren respondents claimed French for a larger number of domains (thereby receiving a higher score for French) than did the Lewiston respondents. The t-values for the age groups 70-79 (10.85), 50-59 (14.45), 40-49 (8.49), 30-39 (15.54), and 10-19 (10.46) are all significant at better than the .001 level. Those for the 80-89 age group (4.16) and the 60-69 age group (8.71) are significant at the .05 and .02 levels, respectively. The 20-29 year old sample was too small to test.

It would seem from these findings that because of their proximity to the French-Canadian border and to other French-speaking towns, people living in Van Buren use the French language in more domains than people who live in Lewiston where they are relatively isolated from other French-speakers.

C. Age and the Domains of Language Behavior

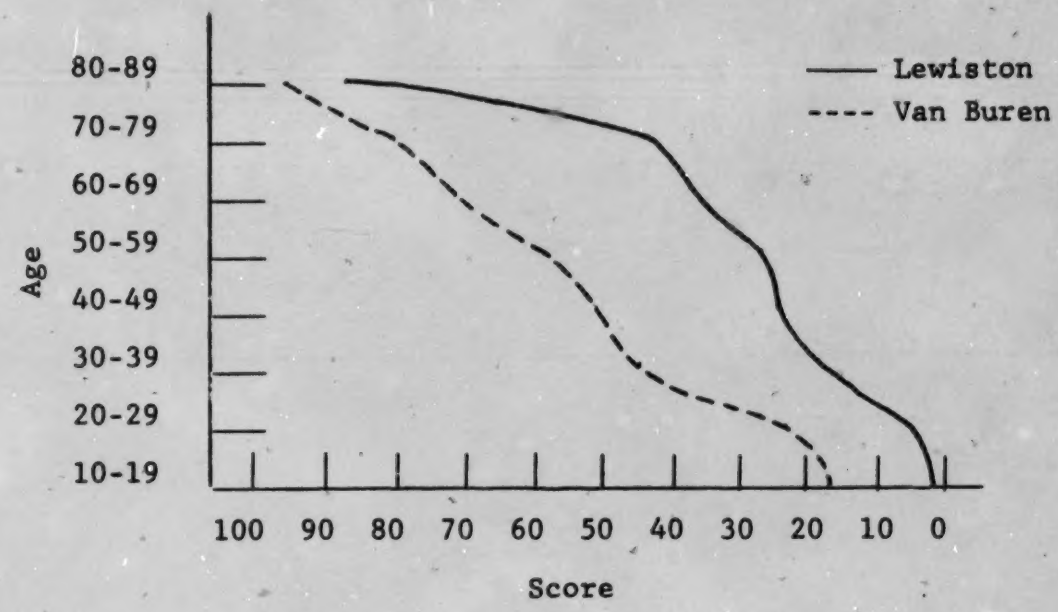
That a significant difference was found in the domains of language behavior between the two communities should not override another finding common to both Lewiston and Van Buren: that the number of domains where French is claimed as choice of language decreases with each lower age group. See Table 6.

Table 6. Average percentage of French domains claimed by each age group in Lewiston and Van Buren.

	Average % of French Domains			
Age Group	Lewiston	No.	Van Buren	No.
80-89	87%	4	96%	2
70-79	42	4	79	6
60-69	36	3	71	2
50-59	24	3	58	3
40-49	23	2	50	5
30-39	18	6	45	2
20-29	5	2	22	1
10-19	2	8	17	12

Portrayed graphically in Figure 4, the findings clearly show a drastic decline in usage of the French language.

Figure 4. Average percentage of French domains claimed by each age group in Lewiston and Van Buren.



D. Ordering of Language Domains

As previously mentioned, Mackey's (1962) model depicting the functions of languages in a bilingual situation was used as a basic framework for the domain inventory used in this study. (See Appendix E.) Topics were included to account for possible variations in language choice. Unlike the results obtained by Ervin-Tripp (1973), however, the large majority of the subjects I interviewed claimed that their language choices were not influenced by topic. A common response was: "It depends more on who I'm talking

to. Sometimes I'll talk French to my husband, sometimes in English. I don't really think about which language to use when I start talking about a certain thing" (V4F43). Gumperz (1977) confirms the validity of the preceding statement:

> While linguists, concerned with grammatical systems as such, see the code alternation as highly salient, members, immersed in the interaction itself, are often quite unaware which code is used at any one time. Their main concern is with the communicative effect of what they are saying. Selection among linguistic alternates is automatic, not readily subject to conscious recall (p. 3).

Although the topic variable did not appear to play a significant role in this study, its importance as a factor influencing language choice should not be disclaimed. As Gumperz pointed out, informants cannot usually identify which topic is the domain of which language. The problem, then, would appear to be in the elicitation procedure. Merely asking respondents to match topic to language has proven to be a rather ineffectual system. Because of this inadequacy, the analysis of the data presented in this chapter does not include the topic variable.

The hierarchy of domains for French depicted in Table 7 is based more generally on the major external and internal functions of Mackey's model. Internal functions are further divided into two categories dependent on the requirement of literacy. The literacy-bound internal

functions are counting, note-taking, list-making, and writing of diaries, songs, and poetry. The five literacy-free functions are planning, dreaming, cursing, scolding self, and praying. The literacy factor also figures in the two subdivisions under "Media". Television, radio, and recordings are considered literacy-free while reading books is literacy-bound.

Table 7. Ordering of language domains: media and overtness

Domains	Media	Overtness
1. Home, friends	Spoken	Production
2. Literacy-free internal functions	Spoken	Inner
3. Work, Church	Spoken	Production
4. T.V., radio, recordings	Spoken	Comprehension
5. Community	Spoken	Production
6. Books	Read	Comprehension
Correspondence	Written	Production
7. School	Spoken	Production
8. Literacy-bound internal functions	Spoken	Inner

Table 7 represents a general ordering of domains. There are exceptions to the order, but generally speaking, it can be said that a bilingual speaker will use French in the home if s/he uses it anywhere (with the exception of tuning in on the Canadian T.V. stations occasionally). It

can also be said that s/he will not use French in the general community unless s/he uses it in the more intimate domains of home, friendship, work, and church. Most of the respondents in my sample followed this ordering of domains in their patterns of language choice.

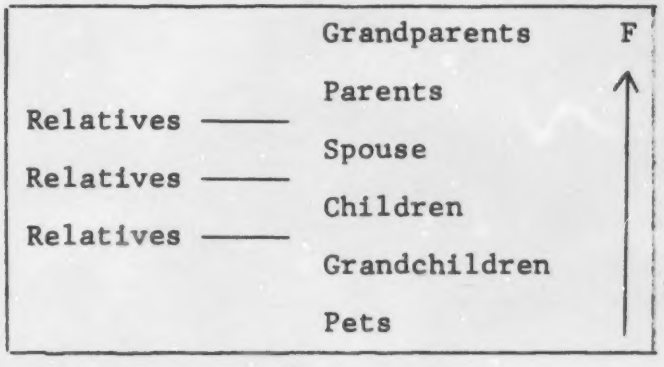
The two variances identified by Fishman (1972), overtness and media, add an interesting dimension to the hierarchy. Note that with the exception of "school" all the domains requiring only the spoken language precede (are more likely to be dealt with in French) the literacy-bound domains. Moreover, the position of "school" in the hierarchy in relation to the primary domain of "home" raises an interesting question regarding the preservation of ethnic language. It appears here that the home provided the strongest motivation and influence for mother tongue maintenance. The school, beyond the French classroom, seems to offer little incentive to speak French while in school, even for those youngsters in Van Buren who speak some French and have friends of equal competency.

Ordering of the contacts in the "home" domain provides a rather clear-cut hierarchy. In Figure 5 the areas of contact are ordered by age level. The position of "relatives" (aunts, uncles, cousins, etc.) is dependent on the age of the relative. Also, language choice when children are present depended upon whether or not the child understood French. No respondents suggested that they consciously

used the French language as a device to deceive or conceal something from their non-French-speaking children.

This hierarchy predicts that a subject in the oldest generation will not speak French to his/her grandchildren unless s/he also speaks French to his/her spouse and children. A person in the second or third generation will not speak French to his/her parents unless French is also spoken to grandparents; this same individual will not speak French to his/her children unless French is also used with his/her spouse. A subject in the youngest generation will speak French to his/her parents only if French is also used with grandparents. There were very few exceptions to these ordering rules, all of them related to relatives whose ages were not specified, or to pets, where it is questionable just how much language one uses.

Figure 5. Ordering of contacts in home domain



The remaining domains were not exceptionally conducive to ordering, but some findings in these areas might be of

interest to the reader:

1) In the majority of cases, bilingual respondents stated that they would switch to English if non-Francos were present. Might it be suggested that courtesy mores are stronger than group cohesiveness based on linguistic bonds?
2) Language choice among members of the same church often depended on the language of the service they had just attended. That is, if the Mass was celebrated in French, bilingual respondents might be more likely to speak French to other members of the church after Mass.
3) Only 25% of the bilingual respondents claimed they would speak to their bilingual employers in French, while 49% said they would speak French among Franco-American co-workers. It seems possible that a hierarchy within a work situation may follow its own lines based on level of authority. The data I was able to collect was not extensive enough to determine the validity of this possibility, however.
4) Only 23% of the bilingual respondents would approach a stranger in French. Some alluded to their feeling that strangers are usually Englishmen.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION OF ALTERNATION

There were relatively few occurrences of English-French alternation during the intervivew sessions with the 65 respondents in this study. Generally they manifested little difficulty maintaining a distinction between the two languages. Those occurrences observed within the 30 sentences detailed below were the only examples noted, rarely more than two or three by the same individual. The one blatant exception to this will be discussed below.

Each utterance which contained both English and French lexical items was placed into one of six possible categories:

1) French word in English sentence;
2) English word in French sentence;
3) French phrase or clause in English sentence;
4) English phrase or clause in French sentence;
5) English sentence to French sentence (to English sentence);
6) French sentence to English sentence (to French sentence).

At the word and phrase levels, the alternations were generally either interjections or tag questions which add little semantic information (Sentences 1 and 18), or items for which there is a common, comparable word or phrase in

the other language. In Sentence 9, however, the term "poll" might be a quasi-technical term, whose French equivalent is not very common. The modified version of "moved back" in Sentence 19 is a good example of applying French syntactic properties to an English verb. I have frequently run across this type of alternation in the Maine dialects of French.

The order (French → English, English → French) of alternation at the sentence level was determined by the first language used when the response was initiated. Often, switching to the other language was preceded by a pause, as in Sentences 23, 24, 27, and 30.

Single Words

French word in English sentence.

1. Attends, they came here before I was born.
(Wait)

2. They'd give us these jettons, you know? And if we
(tokens)
got caught talking in French we'd have to give a jetton.

English word in French sentence.

3. Le français c'est plus fun à parler.
(French is more fun to speak.)

4. J' prenais des magazines avec des portraits.
(I'd take some magazines with pictures.)

5. C'était ainque des p'tites écoles dans le country.
(It was only little schools in the country.)

6. Ses chums parlent toutes l'anglais.
(Her chums all speak English.)

7. Les kids i' ont pas pu continuer.
(The kids they weren't able to continue.)

8. C'est draite aras 1' drug store.
(It's right near the drug store.)

9. I' ont pris une poll pi i' ont toutes voulu garder
(They took a poll and they all wanted to keep

les messes anglaises.
the English Masses.)

10. C'est 1' principal qui nous disait d' faire ça.
(It's the principal who was telling us to do that.)

11. Non, on a pas 1' cable icit.
(No, we don't have the cable here.)

12. Tu watch tu "Séraphin", toé?
(Do you watch "Seraphin"?)

13. Quand qu'i' parle dans un microphone, tu veux dire?
(When he talks in a microphone, you mean?)

14. C'était en français apart du history pi 1' geography.
(It was in French apart from history and geography.)

Phrases or Clauses

French phrase or clause in English sentence.

15. They're gonna try to teach him. . . un peu à fois,
(a little at a time)

you know?

English phrase or clause in French sentence.

16. Des fois i' nous punissaient mais . . . nothing much.
(Sometimes they would punish us but. . . nothing much.)

17. I' va back and forth à Portland trois fois par semaine.
(He goes back and forth to Portland three times a week.)

18. J' pense ça lui gêne un peu, you know?
(I think it embarrasses her a little, you know?)

19. I' on mové back au Canada ça fait dix, onze ans de ça.
(They moved back to Canada; it's been ten or eleven years.)

20. A' va à banque avec son social security check.
(She goes to the bank with her social security check.)

21. Samedi i' en avait une douzaine icit pour son
(Saturday there were a dozen of them here for her

birthday party.
birthday party.)

Independent Sentences

English to French (to English).

22. I asked him that and he can't remember. Ces vieux
(Those old

la i' allaient pas école trop souvent He
people they didn't go to school very often.)

thinks maybe four years.

23. We tried to keep them talking French but . . . on
(we

pouvais pas faire autrement.
couldn't do otherwise.)

French to English (to French).

24. La p'tite elle, a' parlais assez ben mais quand qu'a
(The little one, she used to talk so well, but when

commencé l'école, là . . . It's only English now.
she started school, there. . .

A' parle pu l' français p'en tout, p'en tout.
She doesn't speak French at all any more.)

25. J'aime ça parler à ma grandmère. I don't think I'll
I like speaking to my grandmother.)

ever forget French.

26. Ca lui fait de la peine, ces p'tits la. I' savent pas
(They really upset her, those little ones. They don't

un mot. They come here and they can't even talk to
know one word.

her. C'est péché, t' sais.
It's sinful, you know.)

27. A' commencé cette année, mais. . . it's gonna take
(She starts this year, but . . .)

longer for her.

28. J' m'en rappelle pas trop, la. I think they had only
(I can't really remember.)

French and religion. Le reste c'était l'anglais.
(The rest was in English.)

29. Sa fille a' parle pas, c'est pour ça. She doesn't
(His girlfriend doesn't speak French, that's why.)

talk any French, her. Ca vient d'une famille française,
(She comes from a French family,

par example.
though.)

30. A' rentre au collège au moi d' septembre. She's gonna
(She's entering college in September.)

study psychology. . . mais a' veut continuer son
(But she wants to continue her

français.
French.)

Admittedly, the analysis of these sentences is rather simplistic. My only purpose in observing instances of linguistic alternation was merely to demonstrate one other instance of unstable bilingualism where the French language is being displaced by English.

Table 8 shows that English words, phrases or clauses intruding into predominantly French sentences (determined by position of the main verb) are much more common than the reverse. In English utterances, subjects rarely inserted French words or phrases, whether for lack of appropriate English lexicon or from habit of using particular French

Table 8. Number of occurrences of each type of alternation by each age group

Age Group	French word in English sentence	English word in French sentence	French phrase, clause in English sentence	English phrase, clause in French sentence	Independent Sentences		TOTAL
					E → F (→ E)	F → E (→ F)	
80-89		1					1
70-79		2			1		3
60-69		2	1	1		1	5
50-59	2	3		2	1	4	12
40-49		3		2		1	6
30-39		1				1	2
20-29				1			1
10-19		1					1
TOTAL	2	13	1	6	2	7	

items. At the sentence level, switching from French to English occurred three and a half times as often as English to French.

The totals at the right of Table 8 show the preponderance of alternation instances that occurred with the 50-year-olds, 43% of whom are balanced bilinguals according to the French and English dominance evaluation measures.

In order to present a more balanced and representative picture of the population sample, the number of occurrences of alternation as depicted in Table 8 do not include those examples provided by a 58-year-old Lewiston subject whose discourse was full of instances of alternation. The following excerpt is from the interview session of this respondent. No in-depth analysis will be attempted, but it is included in this chapter to give the reader an opportunity to examine the language behavior of one bilingual Franco-American. However, the informant who provided this example would not be considered typical of the sample in this study. Nevertheless, alternating between the two languages to this extent and even to a greater one is not an uncommon occurrence among the Franco-American bilinguals in this community.

Int.: How about your parents, do you know where they were born?

L9F58: My mother was born in St. Agathe. St. Agatha. And, uh, mon père, I don't know. L. must know.
(my father)

(Subject pronounces town in French then repeats it with the English equivalent.)

Int.: I' n'était pas né à Frenchville?
(Wasn't he born in Frenchville?)

L9F58: Oui, j' pense c'est à Frenchville, oui, ya,
(Yes, I think it was Frenchville, yes

oui, ya c'est à Frenchville. S'a cote là, s'a
yes it was Frenchville. On the hill there,

terre, ya.
on the land.

(Dog enters room)

Wh'cha doing here?

(The only English items here are the interjections "ya". When the dog entered the room, however, the language switched immediately to English, speaking to pets being an English domain for this respondent."

Int.: Do you know if either of your parents went to school?

L9F58: Mon père, mon père, i' y a pas jamais été école,
(My father, my father, he never went to school,

lui. He could hardly write his name. Pi ma mère
him. And my mother

elle avait été école, par example. My mother had
her she went to school, though.

schooling. In French.

Int.: Est-ce-que tous vos enfants parlent français?

L9F58: Non, non. R. comprend mais i' parle pas français.
(No, no. R. understands but he doesn't speak

I' la pas pratiqué son français. Mais
French. He didn't practice his French. But

si i' va 'accontrer ma mère pi ma mère va i'
if he meets my mother and my mother

parler français, i' va répondre en anglais. He
speaks in French, he'll answer in English.

knows what she's talking about. Mais i' peu pas i'
But he can't

répondre. I' pourrait mais i' a peur qui rire
answer her. He could but he's afraid to be

de lui. I think he could parce qu'i' l'a pris
laughed at. because he took it

pour huit ans avec les soeurs icit.
for eight years with the nuns here.)

Int.: Est-ce-que ça vous fait de quoi parce que vos
(Does it bother you because your

p'tits enfants le parlent pas?
grandchildren don't speak it?

L9F58: Non, non. It's their life and it's . . . I know
(No, no.)

J. would like to learn. A' me 'mande souvent
She asks me often

comment c'est qu'on dit ça en francais? How do
how to say that in French.

you say that in French, you know? A' me 'mande
She asks me

que' chose pi a' répète, t' sais? A' sait des
something and she repeats, you know? She knows

mots, mais . . . J. doesn't understand, and B.
some words but . . .

doesn't either.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings in this study generally support the prediction that English will eventually replace French in all the domains in which French presently survives in the two Maine communities. Among the two youngest age groups we find an extremely high percentage of informants who expressed negative feelings toward the French language; in all age groups a majority of respondents agreed that the French language was dying. Although most felt that preservation of the French language would be desirable, there was as wide a disagreement about which institution or persons should be responsible for ethnic language preservation as there was about the factors originally responsible for its decline.

An evaluation of the degree of bilingualism for each subject revealed the directions of dominance have reversed from French to English, from the oldest to the youngest generation. Within each family, the pattern is one of movement away from French monolingualism towards French-English bilingualism, and from French-English bilingualism towards monolingual use of English. The low correlation between years of education in French and the French score on the dominance evaluation attests to the fact that language learning in school does not always develop speaking proficiency.

Because of the high correlation between dominance score and the scores for the domain measure, it was not surprising to find low French scores among the two youngest generations since we also find few domains where French is the language of choice for these subjects. Although there appeared to be a significant difference between the Lewiston and Van Buren domain scores, both communities showed a considerable decrease in the number of domains where French is claimed as the language of choice. The home and literacy-free internal functions emerged as the primary domains where French is used. The hierarchy predicts that if French is used at all within the home, it must be used in speaking to older generation family members. The implications of this fact are substantial when we consider that the one domain where the younger generations claim French as language of choice, i.e., with older family members, is a transient and irreplaceable domain.

To draw more precise conclusions in the area of domains, it would be necessary to study more closely and with effective elicitation methods the variable of topic. Recording longer conversations where the interviewer controls the topics for the bilingual speaker would allow for a much more accurate analysis of domains of language behavior.

Instances of alternation were practically non-existent among the two youngest age groups who are especially proficient in English. Most examples of alternation recorded

were cases of English intrusions into French utterances. This significant finding should provide enlightening information to studies of code-switching, especially as it relates to loss of ethnic language through displacement by English.

Obviously much more research is needed to determine the precise nature of this major change. We would need to identify the functions of alternation, e.g., quotations, interjections, repetition, message qualification, and to study in greater depth the syntactic and semantic properties of alternation patterns.

Furthermore, a more specialized investigation of the 10-19 year olds might provide more conclusive evidence as to the exact factors involved in the disuse and non-acquisition of the French language for this age group. It might also help to explain why respondents in that age group in Van Buren obtained higher scores on the French dominance evaluation than did the same age respondents in Lewiston.

What then have we established in the present study? Gardner and Lambert (1972) did not determine how well the French language was maintained in the home or in the French-speaking sub-culture of Maine. In fact, they questioned the existence of a sub-culture. From the data provided here, we have seen that there is indeed a French-speaking sub-culture still surviving among the older generations. More

importantly, however, the data show that the French language is not being maintained through succeeding generations and therefore it is unlikely that it will survive.

From the correlative information on dominance, domains, and alternation provided in this comprehensive study of changing language patterns in two of Maine's bilingual Franco-American communities, I have concluded that the effort to assimilate the Franco-Americans into the mainstream of American life is leading to the apparently irreversible loss of the French language as a medium of community interchange. The communities under study have seemingly (and regrettably) forsaken a language of unquestioned utility in the modern world.

APPENDIX A

PERSONAL DATA SHEET

Town _____

Family No. _____

Name _____

Age _____ Sex _____

Place of Birth _____

Grade in School _____

Educational Level in French _____

Educational Level in English _____

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

For Linguistic History:

1. In what language were your first words spoken?

2. Before you went to school, what language was spoken most commonly in the home?

3. At what age did you begin to speak your second language? Fr. Eng.

4. Where and how was your second language introduced to you (school, friends, television)?

5. Is French being offered or required in your school now?

For Attitudes on Languages:

6. Why did you want or need to learn your second language?

7. How did you feel about learning your second language (accepted without question, resented, appreciated opportunity)?

8. How do you feel now about the Englsih language? The French language? About being bilingual?

9. Would you like the French language in Maine to be preserved?

10. If yes, who do you think is responsible for its preservation (schools, church, parents, each individual, government)?

11. Do you think the French language in Maine is dying?

12. If yes, who do you think is responsible for its decline?

APPENDIX C

LANGUAGE DOMINANCE EVALUATION FORM

	YES	NO
S-0+: Must demonstrate ability.		
1. Can you use a minimum of 10 words in appropriate context?	☐	☐
S-1: Should answer YES.		
1. Can you give directions to specific locales, e.g., the post office, restaurant, etc.?	☐	☐
2. Can you tell the time of day, day of the week, the date?	☐	☐
3. Can you order a simple meal?	☐	☐
4. Can you buy an item of clothing or a bus ticket, or call for a reservation?	☐	☐
5. Can you answer form questions about your nationality, date and place of birth, occupation, grade in school?	☐	☐
6. Can you make a proper social introduction?	☐	☐
S-1+: Must meet all S-1, and at least three S-2 requirements.		
S-2: Should answer YES.		
1. Can you describe your present or most recent job, school or home activity in some detail?	☐	☐
2. Can you give detailed information about your family, house, today's weather?	☐	☐
3. Can you take and give simple messages over the phone?	☐	☐
4. Can you give a brief autobiography, and tell of your immediate plans and future?	☐	☐
5. Can you describe the geography of the U.S., hometown, or familiar location?	☐	☐

6. Can you describe the basic structure of the U.S., state, or local government, or of the local school system? ___

7. Can you describe the purpose or function of any group of which you are a member, e.g., PTA, church, Scouts, union, or lodge? ___

8. Do you feel confident that you understand native speakers talking to you about topics in the S-2 range and that they understand you about 80% of the time? ___

S-2+: Must meet all S-2, and at least three S-3 requirements.

S-3: Should answer NO.

1. Are there any features of the language that you avoid because you don't feel you know to say it, e.g., asking questions? ___

2. Do you sometimes find yourself in the middle of a sentence you can't finish because you don't know the right word or how to say the rest of the sentence? ___

3. Do you find it difficult to follow and contribute to a conversation among native speakers who try to include you in their talk? ___

4. Are you ever afraid that you will misunderstand information given to you over the telephone? ___

Should answer YES.

5. Can you speak to a group of educated native speakers and be sure you are communicating what you want to? ___

6. Can you listen and be able to summarize for some else, a speech or informal discussion where you and the speaker were face-to-face? ___

7. Can you listen to and be able to summarize for someone else, a speech or discussion you heard over the radio or P.A. system? ___

8. Can you cope with trying situations where you have to return something to a store, call about broken plumbing, argue an undeserved traffic ticket, or defend yourself when falsely accused? ☐☐

9. Do you feel that you have a somewhat advanced command (rather than just a practical one, e.g., getting around, ordering a meal) of the language? ☐☐

S-3+: Must meet all S-3, and at least one S-4 requirements.

S-4: Should answer YES.

1. Is your vocabulary always extensive and precise enough to enable you to convey your exact meaning when talking over important matters, e.g., buying, selling, your work, income tax, school subjects? ☐☐

2. Can you change the way you speak depending on who you are talking to, e.g., close friends, school principals, employees? ☐☐

3. Do you think you can carry out any job or school assignment as well in the language as your native language? ☐☐

S-4+: Must have vocabulary that is always extensive and precise enough to convey exact meaning in discussions on all subjects.

S-5: Should answer YES.

1. Do native speakers know you are having no trouble with the language and think of you as a native speaker? ☐☐

2. Do you sometimes feel more at home in the language than in your own native language? ☐☐

3. Is the number of words you know in the language at least as extensive and precise as in your native language? ☐☐

4. Can you do mental arithmetic in the language without slowing down? ☐☐

APPENDIX D

FORMULAIRE D'EVALUATION POUR DETERMINER LE LANGAGE DOMINANT

	OUI	NON

S-0+: Le répondant doit démontrer la capacité.

1. Pouvez-vous utiliser un minimum de dix mots dans une conversation? ☐ ☐

S-1: Le répondant doit répondre OUI.

1. Pouvez-vous diriger quelqu'un vers une localité particulière, par exemple, le bureau de poste, un restaurant, etc.? ☐ ☐
2. Pouvez-vous donner l'heure, le jour de la semaine, et la date? ☐ ☐
3. Pouvez-vous commander un repas ordinaire? ☐ ☐
4. Pouvez-vous acheter un article de vêtements ou un billet d'autobus, ou téléphoner pour réserver un place? ☐ ☐
5. Pouvez-vous répondre aux sections d'un formulaire qui demande votre nationalité, votre date et lieu de naissance, votre emploi, votre année de scolarité, etc.? ☐ ☐
6. Pouvez-vous présenter une personne à une autre? ☐ ☐

S-1+: Le répondant doit répondre à toutes les exigences de la section S-1, et à au moins trois exigences de la section S-2.

S-2: Le répondant doit répondre OUI.

1. Pouvez-vous décrire en detail votre emploi actuel ou le plus recent, ou une de vos activités à l'école ou à la maison? ☐ ☐
2. Pouvez-vous donner des renseignements détailles sur votre famille, votre maison, et le temps qu'il fail aujourd'hui? ☐ ☐
3. Pouvez-vous donner et prendre des messages au téléphone? ☐ ☐

4. Pouvez-vous donner une courte autobiographie, et raconter de vos projets immédiats et d'avenir? ⌊__⌋

5. Pouvez-vous décrire la géographie des Etâts-Unis, de votre ville ou de votre voisinage? ⌊__⌋

6. Pouvez-vous décrire les structures fondamentales du gouvernement des Etâts-Unis, de votre état ou municipalité, ou le système d'éducation de votre ville? ⌊__⌋

7. Pouvez-vous décrire les buts et les fonctions d'un groupe ou d'une organisation dont vous êtes membre, par example, les organisations paroissiales ou sociales, les syndicats, les scouts, et autres? ⌊__⌋

8. Comprenez-vous facilement les gens de langue française lorsque ceux-ci vous parlent des sujets mentionnés dans la section S-2? Et est-ce-que ces gens vous comprennent 80 pour cent du temps? ⌊__⌋

S-2+: Le répondant doit répondre à toutes les exigences de la section S-2, et à au moins trois exigences de la section S-3.

S-3: Le répondant doit répondre NON.

1. Est-ce-qu'il y a des particuliarités du langage que vous évitez parce que vous ne savez pas comment y prendre, par example, en posant des questions? ⌊__⌋

2. Vous trouvez-vous parfois bloquer en plein milieu d'une phrase parce que vous ne savez pas comment la terminer ou parce qu'il vous manque du vocabulaire pour la compléter? ⌊__⌋

3. Trouvez-vous que c'est difficile pour vous de suivre ou de faire partie d'une conversation quand vous êtes avec des gens de langue française qui assayent à vous faire contribuer a la conversation? ⌊__⌋

4. De temps à autre, avez-vous peur que vous avez malcompris les informations qu'on vous a donne au téléphone? ⌊__⌋

Le répondant doit répondre OUI.

5. Pouvez-vous addresse un groupe de gens éduque de langue française et vous rassurer qu'ils vous comprennent? ⌊__⌋

6. Pouvez-vous résumer pour un autre un discours ou une discussion que vous avez entendu face à face? ⌊__⌋

7. Pouvez-vous résumer pour un autre un discours ou une discussion que vous avez entendu à la radio ou au haut-parleur? ⌊__⌋

8. Pouvez-vous vous débrouiller quand il s'agit de retourner de la marchandise, de visiter un médecin, de disputer une infraction non meritée, etc.? ⌊__⌋

9. Pensez-vous que vous possédez un niveau avancé du langage (au lieu d'une connaissance limitée aux aspect pratiques de la vie quotidienne, par example, commander un repas)? ⌊__⌋

S-3e: Le répondant doit répondre à toutes les exigences de la section S-3, et à au moins une exigence de la section S-4.

S-4: Le répondant doit répondre OUI.

1. Est-ce-que votre vocabulaire est toujours assez étendu et précis pour vous permettre d'exprimer le sens exacte de se que vous voulez dire sur les matières d'importance comme votre emploi, vos impots, vos études? ⌊__⌋

2. Est-ce-que votre langue parlée se modifie selon la personne adressée, par example, amis intimes, directeurs d'école, employés? ⌊__⌋

3. Vous pensez-vous capable d'accomplir aucune tâche ou aucun devoir aussi bien en français qu'en votre langue maternelle? ⌊__⌋

S-4e: Le vocabulaire du répondant doit toujours être assez étendu et précis pour lui permettre de s'exprimer clairement dans une conversation sur n'importe quel sujet.

S-5: Le répondant doit répondre OUI.

1. Est-ce-que les gens de langue française savent que vous n'avez aucune difficulté à communiquer en français, et vous considèrent de langue française? ⌊__⌋

2. Parfois êtes-vous plus à l'aise à parler le français qu'à parler votre langue maternelle? ⌊__⌋

3. Est-ce-que votre vocabulaire en francais est aussi aussi etendu et precis qu'en votre langue maternelle? ⌊__⌋

4. Pouvez-vous faire des calcul mentals en francais sans hesiter? ⌊__⌋

APPENDIX E

LANGUAGE DOMAIN INVENTORY

External Functions

	Intens.		Hitech.		Domest.		Emotiv.		Meeting		Polit.		Friend.		Auction.		Mostly	
	F	E	F	E	F	E	F	E	F	E	F	E	F	E	F	E	F	E
HOME																		
1. Children																		
2. Grandchildren																		
3. Mother																		
4. Father																		
5. Grandparents																		
6. Parents when children pres.																		
7. Spouse																		
8. Spouse when children pres.																		
9. Relatives																		
10. Pets																		
FRIENDS																		
1. Neighbors																		
2. Franco-American friends																		
3. When non-F.A. friends pres.																		
WORK																		
1. Franco-American co-workers																		
2. When non-F.A. co-workers pres.																		
3. Employer (if bilingual)																		
CHURCH																		
1. Members of the same church																		
GENERAL COMMUNITY																		
1. Merchants																		
2. Doctor (if bilingual)																		
3. Strangers																		
SCHOOL																		
1. Your teachers																		
2. Franco-American schoolmates																		
3. When non-F.A. schoolm. pres.																		
4. Your child's teacher privately																		
5. Child's teacher when child pres.																		

MEDIA

	Lang. of Medium F	Lang. of Medium E
1. Television		
2. Radio		
3. Recordings		
4. Books		

CORRESPONDENCE

	Lang. of Corresp. F	Lang. of Corresp. E

Internal Functions

	Language Used F	Language Used E
1. Counting		
2. Praying		
3. Dreaming		
4. Planning		
5. Cursing		
6. Scolding (self)		
7. Note-taking		
8. List-making		
9. Diary, Poetry, or Song writing		

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